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The university in crisis: Education Issue

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commonweal

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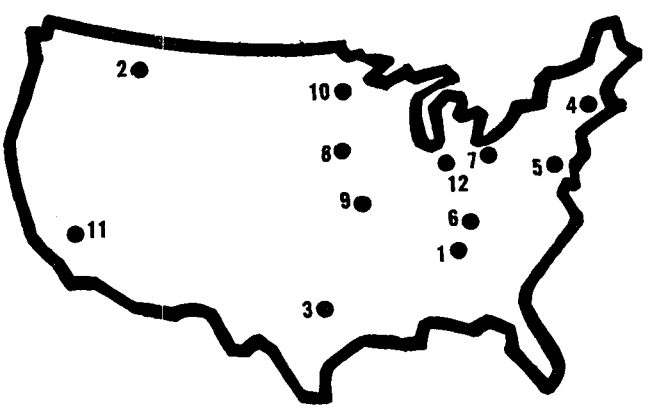

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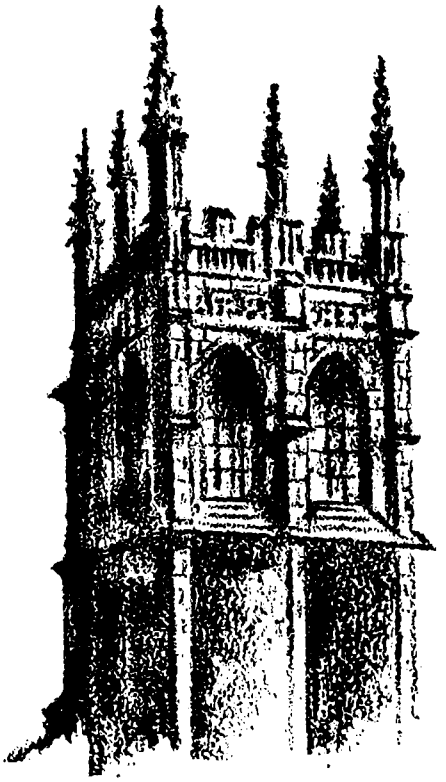

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NEWS AND VIEWS

The migration of rats from Harlem to poach on pigeon feed put out by nice old ladies along Park Avenue provided the New York Health Department with its finest hour in years—most publicized, anyway.

Reports of the rats brought Health Department workers to the scene with the speed of firemen . . . and in number equivalent almost to the number of rats themselves. They came armed with 200 pounds of rat poison, and while cameras whirled and newsmen made notes, they laid out their bait.

Meanwhile, back in Harlem, rats still ran free, fattened on garbage and snapped at kids. But that's something else; that's where rats are supposed to be, not in the evergreen islands and flower patches of Park Avenue.

From Washington and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, meanwhile, one could almost hear the sighs of relief. After long delays, HEW was at last disbursing rat control funds made available by Congress nearly a year earlier. New York's grant had gone out just three weeks before the Park Avenue invasion, and it was the largest allotted thus far—$3,633,833. Yes, the sum is to be shared with Erie, Monroe and Dutchess counties, but the larger share goes to New York City. That gets Washington off any Park Avenue hooks.

Everyone thus comes out smelling like roses. But no one deserves to, for nowhere is nearly enough being done on any level to combat the rat problems of the nation.

The rat population in the U.S. is estimated at 100 million—one rat for every two persons. They inflict 14,000 bites each year on children and adults, and they cost the country a billion dollars annually in the destruction of property and contamination of food.

But the most Congress chose to provide under terms of its 1967 bill was $20 million for fiscal '68 and another $20 million for fiscal '69—which doesn't even begin to meet cost demands. Forty-seven units of local government applied for rat control funds in 1968; the allotment for fiscal '68 would accommodate the programs of only 14. With the appropriation Dec. 19 to New York, the first year's fund was exhausted.

Now there's the second $20 million, but it won't go far either. A Public Health Service spokesman said recently there's only enough to fund those with the best programs. The trouble is, the communities with the best programs may not also be the communities with the greatest rat problems.

There's a final irony: hardly a cent of the federal rat control money goes toward the direct extermination of a single rat. The fund is designed instead to educate slum dwellers on sanitation and the storage of garbage; to coach garbagemen on effective collection methods; and to finance demolition of sheds, garages and other structures that have become rat shelters. Community education and citizen participation are also to be fostered as keys to rat control.

All well and good, except there's still not enough money appropriated to get the job done.

•

Campus confrontations acquire a wider understanding with the release of a new study into the mind and manner of the typical college and university trustee.

The study finds that "trustees do not read—indeed have generally never even heard of the more relevant higher education books and journals."

Also, most trustees feel that the administration should control the content of student newspapers; well over a third believe it reasonable to require loyalty oaths from faculty members, and a similar number hold that students punished for off-campus behavior should also be disciplined by the college.

A fourth of the trustees would screen campus speakers, and deny to faculty members, "the right to free expression of opinions."

What kind of nutty picture is this? Not nutty at all, unfortunately. It's the one that emerges from an opinion sampling of more than 5,000 trustees at 536 colleges and universities, made by the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, N.J., in cooperation with the American Association for Higher Education and the Association for Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges.

According to the study, the average trustee is in his 50s, white, Protestant, conservative and rich (more than half have incomes in excess of $30,000 a year). He agrees on balance that "running a college is like running a business," and generally favors for the college a "hierarchial system in which decisions are made at the top and passed down."

All of which places trustees as a group at opposite end of the spectrum from most faculty members and students. The study concludes:

"To the extent that ideological differences among these groups remain (or increase), we might expect greater conflict and disruption of academic programs, a deeper entrenchment of the ideas of competing factions, and, worst of all, an aimless, confusing collegiate experience, where the student's program is a result of arbitration rather than mutual determination of goals and purposes."

•

NBC's "The Johnson Years," which followed telecast of the State of the Union Message, was a sloppy production, but there was nothing sloppy about the boxing out of the *Village Voice*'s Jack Newfield from the panel discussions. In fact, it was mighty slick. Newfield opened his mouth about the Dominican Republic intervention and NBC cut faster than if he had uttered an Anglo-Saxon obscenity. Later Newfield managed to exclaim that he felt he had been watching a production of "Lyndon in Wonderland." Which, indeed, he was. But then the last several weeks of Lyndon in Washington were "Lyndon in Wonderland" exercises. NBC wasn't the only one to sell out. JOHN DEEDY

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CORRESPONDENCE

Merger in Pittsfield

Adams, Mass.

To the Editors: The article by W. David Gardner on Catholic Hospitals [Dec. 20] strikes me as a highly irresponsible piece of writing. Many of his sweeping and gratuitous assertions such as his opening sentence smack of the brashness of a college sophomore.

The merger of the Pittsfield hospitals (Pittsfield General and St. Luke's) merits much of Mr. Gardner's attention. He speaks of "strong initial resistance"—presumably on the part of the Catholics. The fact is that nearly all community-minded Catholics were in favor of the merger. There was hardly a discordant note at the joint meeting of the trustees. (I personally supplied the meeting's only discord!)

Mr. Gardner designates the Pittsfield General and Hillcrest Hospitals as "non-Catholic." These two institutions are as devoid of religious overtones as any bank or supermarket. This is why his assertion—"many in the Catholic community viewed the idea as a Protestant takeover"—is both inaccurate and unfair. The Pittsfield Catholics as well as Protestants will rightly resent Mr. Gardner's implication of religious bigotry and rivalry.

It is generally agreed that a unified hospital program in a city like Pittsfield is a necessity. However, some of us feel that there is still need for the Catholic hospital and we continue to ask if it would not be possible for the Catholic hospital to retain its identity within the new complex.

(REV.) TIMOTHY J. CHAMPOUX

Episcopal Priorities

Denver, Colo.

To the Editors: I am still waiting to hear some directives and words of advice from our hierarchy concerning some of the really important issues (and I don't think birth control is one of them) facing our country today, such

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CIVILIAN 'G.I. BILL'?

"What the American nation now needs from higher education can be summed up in two words: quality and equality," said the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education in its recent report to Congress and the new Administration. And it went on to warn that "these essential national needs will not be fully met unless the federal government assumes new levels of responsibility for higher education." At one time any proposal for massive federal intervention in higher education would probably have provoked a national storm, but in 1969 the Carnegie Commission recommendations are likely to have no such result. This is not to say that it will be easy to get the money for the Carnegie proposals, but it is probably typical of the change in the climate of opinion that the educators, businessmen and economists on the Commission made their recommendations unanimously.

What the Carnegie Commission urges is, in brief, a multi-million dollar federal program to aid students, subsidize colleges and universities, and expand medical education. Federal aid to colleges and universities would be raised from the present annual level of $3.5 billion to $7 billion in 1970 and to $13 billion by 1976. The capacity of medical schools would be sufficiently enlarged to enable them to train 75 percent more physicians than they now can. But perhaps most interesting of all, the group called for a Civilian Bill of Educational Rights, comparable to the G.I. Bill of Rights, which would ensure that financial need will not prevent any qualified student from going to college—a situation that is far from true today. Indeed, as things now stand, a potential student whose family income is in the upper one-half of the national income range has three times the chance to get a college education as one whose family is in the lower one-half. It is this inequity that the Carnegie Commission would correct.

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Under the G.I. Bill, thousands upon thousands of veterans received a college education who would otherwise have been unable to do so, and the benefits to individuals and the nation that resulted from the program are almost immeasurable. The goal of the Carnegie proposals is comparable: to provide funds in the form of direct aid and loans to help one million young men and women attend college in the next eight years, young people who would otherwise have no chance at college for financial reasons. Under the Carnegie plan, students in need could receive direct grants of $750 a year during the first two undergraduate years and $1000 a year for the last two years and for two years of graduate study, plus a chance for more in a work-study program. Grants to students would be accompanied by tuition payments to the college or university.

A significant factor in the Carnegie planning involves the kind of student who would be eligible for such aid. Only a few of these grants would go to families with incomes over $6000 annually. Today only 7 percent of the total college enrollment comes from families in the lowest income quarter. Under the Carnegie plan, this proportion would rise sharply, and a high percentage of black students would be included, since Negroes are heavily represented in the bottom one-quarter of the economy. All qualified students, however, regardless of family income, would be eligible for loan assistance up to $2500 a year, with the rate of repayment dependent on earning level after college.

These, then, are the bare bones of the Carnegie proposals. In our view they, or some reasonable facsimile of them, deserve determined bipartisan support. Despite the increasingly obvious crisis in higher education, the short-sighted will probably grasp nothing about them but the price tag; a more serious appraisal should convince the concerned citizen not only that the proposals are necessary and very much in keeping with our national ideal of equal opportunity, but that they in fact constitute an investment in our national future which will pay for itself.

REQUIEM FOR LBJ

We Americans are a sporting race. Fair play a national trait. A blunder here or there engenders no enduring grudge. Unpersons do not inhabit our history. As long as heart is recognized in the right place (and this is the proviso), respect is not withheld.

Lyndon Johnson leaves Washington, then, with bouquets of *nil nisi bonum*'s. He gave it all he had, did he not? His policies and actions were always in the country's estate, were they not? Gentlemen do not now quibble over such matters as the Great Society or the War on Poverty. Vietnam could have happened to any President. But for Johnson, there go . . .

Whether the embarrassing mistake on last week's cover was the work of Israeli commandoes or El Fatah terrorists is not yet clear. Having received a proof of the cover with the correct spelling of "Its Dilemma and Ours"—after two previous unsuccessful bouts with a creative type-setter —we were dismayed to find that the earlier, incorrect version had made its fiendish way back onto the cover. Thats life, we suppose, and theirs little too be done.

The *New York Times* editorialized on "The Johnson Era" observing this proper liberal etiquette: "It is possible to observe today that he merits the respect and, for many reasons, the gratitude of his fellow citizens. He labored mightily on behalf of this nation and always tried to serve the best interests of all the people. He had failures of understanding but never of intent or effort. He has no reason to fear history's judgment." In his adjoining parish bulletin, James Reston continued the requiem: "Vietnam drove him out of office, but his policy there will probably be seen in the long run as a gallant if unsuccessful effort to punish wickedness and military aggression." Johnson himself intoned the final absolution in the last line of his State of the Union message: "But I believe that at least it will be said that we tried."

For some, and perhaps most, this explanation is sufficient. But there are those who remember too well the execution and cannot accept the cover of intent. For them, Johnson is not innocent. If the older villain theory is unacceptable, so also the whitewash. *Commonweal* did not celebrate Johnson's presidency; it would be hypocrisy to say nothing but good now.

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Rambler Romney: The Edsel of Politicians

All his political life, it seems, George Romney has wanted to play Hamlet. He has known by heart all the lines Hamlet needs to know, has helped with the crucial blocking of the play, and offered guidance to the directors, whoever and how many they may have been. But at stage time he entered wrong, early or late, and often spoke lines from the last act in the first, or vice-versa.

His delivery of his speech as outgoing governor of the State of Michigan almost two weeks ago followed this frustrated thespian's course. Appointed to President Nixon's cabinet as HUD Secretary, he went before Michigan's State Legislature to speak the curtain speech which would vacate the stage of government for his successor by law, Lieutenant Governor Bill Milliken.

Rumor around the state has it that the Governor said what he meant—that the people of the State should re-

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evaluate the wisdom of supporting private and parochial education as either tuition-paying or tax-paying citizens, or both. He probably believed this to be wise counsel, many say; as a Mormon, he was silently pointing to the system of combined use of public and Church education employed by his religion, among others. If this is what is true about his statement, it is also true that he blew it, as he has blown a few statements before. One of the city papers, remembering the Governor's now-famous claim he had been brainwashed about Vietnam, offered an editorial cartoon which portrayed Romney about to board an airplane for Washington, waving his goodbyes over the impediment of having his foot stuck in his mouth.

George Romney has been, since his days at American Motors, a sign of contradiction in the truest sense. He has seemed a creature of impetuous plans and as often right ones as wrong ones. When he took over the automobile company, he launched the compact car to the accompaniment of themes about gas-guzzling dinosaurs. When he left, American Motors recovered from his waning success by reintroducing dinosaurs. He assumed the governorship with a promise of committed availability, establishing Thursday morning open forums for citizens at large, whom he received in shirt-sleeve symbolism. Toward the end of his six years, however, his political junkets, both in his own and his party's behalf, left him open to charges of absentee office-holding. These trips included his trips to Vietnam and his aborted stint as a Presidential campaigner.

In fact, under the governorship of George Romney, Michigan's private schools had prospered more than under any other state executive. The private colleges and universities have been blessed with state grants and state scholarships which offered as much as $1600 to qualifying students. What was more remarkable about these legislative acts is that they did not apply to state institutions. They were as direct as indirect supports to private and church-related high education could be. Tax-credit plans for the cost of tuition to parents were also implemented.

The climate which this seemed to describe in the official mind of the state was enough encouragement to foster the Citizens For Educational Freedom. This group, which was responsible for the plan called *Parochiaid,* has lobbied for extension of these higher education plans to lower schools. Last year the group mounted a campaign on the legislature which brought to the capitol in Lansing the largest amount of mail on any single bill in history. The failure of the bill last year was no serious deterrent to the members of the CEF; this fall found them feverish to bring the proposal back to the docket before Governor Romney's sympathies for the idea were translated to federal posts and other geographies.

So everybody and his brother were shocked beyond words when the Governor closed his state career with an enjoinder that parochial schools settle themselves on the task of moral instruction, and leave secular instruction to the public institutions. No one was ready for the Governor's remark, anymore than they were ready for his claim he had been brainwashed about Vietnam or for his withdrawal from the Republican Presidential primary race. But their wordlessness was not for long. Uniform editorials appeared, all scratching their writers' heads. Interviewees from distinguished posts expressed their televised opinions that the Governor had put his foot in his mouth—an opinion rendered in all cases with decorous grace. The editor of the state's Catholic paper, the *Michigan Catholic*, understated it as well as any: "Meanwhile, we sincerely wish Mr. Romney blessings and good luck as new director of HUD. But we can hardly wait to hear what he really thinks about HUD. Undoubtedly he will tell us when he leaves the job."

The governor-designate, Milliken, observed the same day that his opinions on the subject might be different. His State of the State message later in the week confirmed that they were. Since policy on support to private education had already been established (to colleges and universities), he thought, the only remaining question was how much support.

Simple figuring tells the observer that Romney's recommendation ignores the financial facts while it may tempt the philosophical ones. In Michigan, anyway, the idea of support for public schools and non-support for private ones is fast becoming a rhetorical one. About a billion dollars would be necessary to finance the sudden appearance for education in public schools of those now studying in private and parochial ones. At a minimum, some $250 million would be required to continue annually. Opponents of Parochiaid argue that the public schools, already deprived financially, would suffer if aid to private schools was legislated. Those who support a bill for such aid claim the private schools will go under without such support.

It looks as if in the end the question will be settled more deterministically, more gradually, and more probably, without effect from Romney's quixotic curtain speech. The children are going to get educated, one way or the other, for better or for worse. The patterns suggest, in Michigan anyway, that some method of state support for private schools will be devised. Whether the secular instruction will profit at the expense of the moral, as Romney's worry seems to be, no one can know, or probably do anything about. His about-face on support for private schools will be entered into the anthology eventually published of his sayings, the manuscript which already includes well-known statements. A national audience may look forward to the entries yet to come.

JOHN MAHONEY

(John Mahoney is chairman of the English Department at the University of Detroit and a columnist for the Michigan Catholic.*)*

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Decline and Fall Of a Student Movement

Between 1960 and 1966, the college Young Christian Student movement (YCS) was an important apostolic leaven within the generally apathetic mass of Catholic college youth and an influential religious minority within the secular New Left.

During the early 1960's, college YCS group leaders in Boston emerged as leaders of the anti-war movement long before the general outcry against the Vietnam War could be heard. College YCS leaders held minor leadership positions in the first Berkeley outbreak. Miss Mary Varela, a YCS staffer, was a founding member of the Students for a Democratic Society. College YCS leaders were among the first Freedom Riders, guests of Southern jails, and field secretaries for SNCC. Even the august *New York Times* took notice and sent a reporter out for a background story on Miss Kathy Sullivan (now of the *Catholic Worker* in Boston), one of the more militant "full-timers" of the movement.

But all of this is history. Three years ago, for example, over 200 Catholic college students attended the national college YCS "Study Week" to hear speakers such as Fr. John McKenzie and Sidney Lens. This year fewer than a dozen girls showed up for a quickly adjourned summer program.

Three years ago there were over 200 College YCS groups on 150 campuses and parishes and, despite General Hershey and the peanut butter salaries, a full-time staff of eleven. As of 1968, according to the only "full-timer" left, there were groups on fewer than 40 campuses. The national office itself will soon be empty.

An outgrowth of the European Young Christian Workers founded in 1912, YCS emigrated to the U.S. immediately before World War II. Through the late '40s and the "silent 50s," college YCS was considered the "far left" of American Catholicism, a small movement numbering but a few thousand members, relegated to shared footnotes with the *Catholic Worker*. Small or not, during the postwar McCarthyite era the movement was a haven for disaffected, lonely and liberal Catholic youth and was the only Catholic student organization during this period that consistently raised the now everyday questions of liturgical reform, war and peace, race relations, and the students' role in society. It kept alive a spirit of Christian humanism and American liberalism in many conservative Catholic colleges until the Vatican Council and the Civil Rights Movement suddenly awakened the American Church.

And it was precisely those two events, the Vatican Council and the Civil Rights Movement, that account for College YCS's phenomenal growth in the early 1960's. In two years, College YCS jumped from fewer than twelve chapters on the secular campuses to over sixty. The same growth occurred on the Catholic campuses where suddenly Mother Superiors realized that Catholic colleges had to be "relevant to The Real World" to justify their college's existence. Then, crusade faltered.

There have been several reasons for this rapid disintegration. First there is the basic conservative nature of the American hierarchy. College YCS is "officially" approved in only a handful of chanceries around the country, thus making its presence felt only at the fringes of the mainstream of Catholic life. This was fine when the Movement was small, but when it both mushroomed in size and its membership began "sitting-in" the cathedrals of Manchester, New Hampshire and Chicago, Illinois (a YCS first) those priests who had first taken to YCS, quickly found themselves in trouble. The Movement was treated like a married priest.

Secondly, there is the bitter internal debate over what the college YCS should be. This debate continues to rage in the remnant of the Movement today. On the one hand there are those who want College YCS to remain relatively non-political, have it rely heavily on the encyclicals and the liturgy for guidance, and serve as a locally based training ground for future Christian leaders.

On the other hand there is the faction which would like to see YCS become a movement within the New Left, issue-oriented, highly ecumenical—more Christian than Catholic. The theology of this group relies little on the encyclicals, thinks ill of Church structure and often utilizes a rather literal interpretation of the New Testament.

This debate, centering yearly over the Program Booklet, has literally torn the movement apart and has recently led to many staff resignations and to consequent loss of student leadership.

But perhaps the greatest reason for YCS's decline is the disaffection of large numbers of the most thoughtful and sensitive Catholic college youth, who are reluctant to visibly identify with any Catholic organization. Although college YCS uses the word "Christian," not Catholic, it is clearly an action group for the already believing Catholic. It doesn't offer much to the student who, although quite in favor of peace, student power and civil rights, is having serious doubts about the worth of the Roman Church and its founder.

If any organization has been the beneficiary of the present state of disarray of College YCS, it has been the broadly based, ecumenical, University Christian Movement. At the December 1967 Quadrennial UCM meeting in Cleveland, over 300, or 10 percent of the delegates, identified themselves as Catholics. Many more had already dropped the label. Many of these delegates were formerly active college YCS leaders and the rest were the same idealistic bunch that used to flock to YCS study weeks.

RORY V. ELLINGER

(Rory V. Ellinger, on the national staff of college YCS, 1964-1966, and formerly press secretary to Senator Eagleton of Missouri, teaches history at the University of Missouri.)

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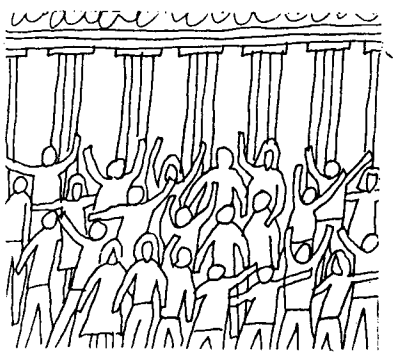
SAN FERNANDO'S BLACK REVOLT

Beginning of the end for a lily-white, pastoral Utopia

SHELDON HARRIS



Obscured by the hullabaloo at San Francisco State College has been the potentially more alarming situation at another large metropolitan California State College some 400 miles to the south. The problem in San Francisco appears to be how the college can best adjust to the needs of a student population that will be coming increasingly from minority ghetto areas. At Los Angeles' San Fernando Valley State College, on the other hand, the question is: Do we want the niggers on our campus at all?

As its name implies, the college is located in the San Fernando Valley, a complex of pleasant, suburban Los Angeles communities. With a population exceeding 1.2 million, more than one out of every three Los Angelenos is a resident of the San Fernando Valley. Pacoima, in the eastern portion of the Valley is a small black ghetto; the city of San Fernando—also in the East Valley—houses a substantial Mexican-American barrio. The rest of the Valley is all-white, middle or upper-middle class. They are frightened of blacks and browns.

San Fernando Valley State, one of 18 colleges in the California State College system, is the only accredited four year degree-granting institution in the Valley. Scarcely 11 years old, it is one of the instant colleges for which California is famous. Its 280 acre campus is located in the exclusive residential area of Northridge. Handsome buildings grace the campus; no expense has been spared for landscaping. The faculty of over 650 is as good as one will find in the State College system. Students come from comfortable homes (a recent survey showed that nine percent of the students' parents earn more than $20,000) and run the gamut from the extremely bright to the mediocre. Fall 1968 enrollment exceeded 18,500.

More minority students attend the University of Alabama than San Fernando Valley. In 1967-68 no more than 50 black students were enrolled at the college. The figures for Mexican-American and Oriental students were equally miniscule.

Two events in 1967 and 1968 signaled the beginning of the end for San Fernando Valley State College as a lily-white, pastoral utopia. Dr. Martin Luther King's tragic assassination finally alerted some faculty and administrators to the fact that Negroes were American citizens who had been short-changed for some time. Shortly before this discovery, Archie Chatman, a charismatic militant black student leader enrolled at the college, began to ask embarrassing questions concerning the absence of black students, black faculty, and ethnic-oriented courses on the campus. He and a handful of like-minded militants organized a college chapter of the Black Students Union. By Northridge standards, they raised hell.

The college administration responded grudgingly, each positive step taken by the college resulting from student pressure from the BSU (Black Students Union) or UMAS (United Mexican-American Students). For example, under the federally sponsored Educational Opportunities Program (EOP), which is designed to encourage ghetto youngsters to go to college, State College Trustees voted to admit, statewide, four percent "substandard" students for the Fall 1968 freshman class. This worked out to more than 500 students for San Fernando Valley State College. The college administration was willing to admit between 25 and 50 EOP students but, of course, made no attempt to recruit them. Instead, BSU and UMAS students had to resort to raising more hell before the ad-

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ministration permitted them to go out and recruit students and was willing to open up more places for those eligible for admission. BSU and UMAS leaders did recruit students for the program, much to the amazement of the administration. The BSU and UMAS students went to ghetto high schools, got 900 students to apply, and ultimately more than 225 EOP students enrolled at the college this fall.

Curriculum changes have taken place in roughly the same fashion. Student pressure leads to administration-created study committees. New student pressures on the study committees leads to token recommendations for course changes or additions which are added to the curriculum.

Faculty recruitment is similar. Frantic searches for black and brown Ph.D's ends up in an annual token addition of three or four Negroes or Mexican-Americans to the staff. The standard argument is that there are too few minority Ph.D's around and "we must not lower our standards." However, standards have been lowered for some time. Because of low salaries, heavy teaching loads, Max Rafferty and Ronald Reagan, the percentage of Ph.D's hired in the California State College system has been declining at an alarming rate. Less than 50 percent of the new faculty employed this year at San Fernando Valley State College have their doctorate. Nonetheless the "let us not lower our standards" argument is a useful ploy for those who want to limit minority faculty to a minimum.

Programmed Disaster

In late spring, the administration appointed a hard-working, dedicated, well-intentioned white man to head up the college's EOP program who worked very closely with the students. Programs to orient the EOP students were established and many of these students lived on campus during the summer. Faculty were requested to volunteer their services to act as tutors and buddies for each incoming minority student. Some faculty did volunteer to help, but there was no significant orientation for faculty on how to deal with what would obviously be problem students. Given the attitudes of the community, most administrators and faculty, one did not have to have extrasensory perception to predict that minority students would soon encounter difficulties.

Less than one month after fall classes began, trouble developed with the Physical Education Department, perhaps the most hidebound and conservative department in the college. An unpaid, part-time volunteer freshman football coach allegedly kicked a black student during a tense and heated moment in a game. Complaints concerning this incident and earlier ones were related to the PE Department's chairman and to other administrators. The BSU made two appointments to discuss the issue with the chairman. The chairman allegedly failed to keep either one. It was learned in the meantime, that the unpaid volunteer freshman coach was a full-time, fully paid member of the Los Angeles Police Department.

A third meeting between the BSU and the chairman of the Physical Education Department was arranged for November 4th, the day before the Presidential election. Some forty or more BSU students crowded into the chairman's office. Tempers were high, the students insisting that the offending coach be fired. The chairman refused. He denied having the power to dismiss employees. The students then allegedly demanded to go see the man (the college president) who could fire the coach. The chairman and some of his coaches were escorted firmly to the Administration Building.

The Administration Building is a five-story California neo-modern structure housing most administrative offices and some School of Education personnel. The college's acting President being out of the building, the BSU proceeded to conduct a sit-in. Word spread through the campus that trouble was brewing in the Administration Building. White radical students, members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), joined the sit-in. The BSU occupied the building's fourth and fifth floors, the police the third floor, SDS controlled the second floor, and the press commanded the ground floor.

Many of the events of that hectic afternoon are still tied in the swirls of controversy. The BSU allegedly detained faculty members on the fifth floor. They and some female secretaries were searched. Some alleged that luncheon knives, taken from a fifth floor kitchen, were brandished in front of the "hostages." Two administrators allege that they were either slapped or kicked at least once. The acting president finally arrived in the building and either negotiated or did not negotiate with the BSU. What is beyond dispute is that students seized and held certain floors in the Administration Building for approximately four hours on the afternoon of November 4th; that rough and abusive language was used by the students; that the acting president signed a twelve-point agreement acceding to certain demands of the BSU for an expanded black curriculum, admission of more black students, hiring of black faculty, and an ending to alleged white racism on campus; that the students evacuated the Administration Building peacefully; that no one was physically harmed during the great explosion and that no property was damaged. No arrests were made that day.

That evening overreaction set in. Dr. Max Rafferty, the controversial State Superintendent of Education, was running for the United States Senate on a Law and Order platform. With public opinion polls showing Dr. Rafferty trailing Alan Cranston, Governor Reagan attempted a crackdown at San Fernando Valley State College in the hope of pulling Rafferty through to victory the next day. Without having the facts, the Governor indicated late Monday afternoon his disappointment with the college

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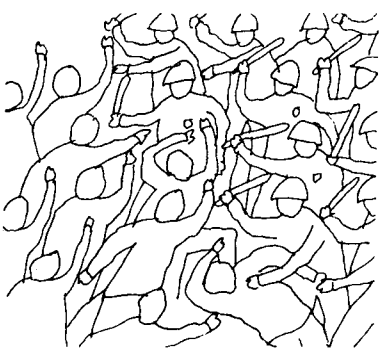
administration's apparent capitulation to the students. Reagan intimated that had he been in charge, he personally would have grabbed all the students by the scruff of their necks and thrown them out of the building. State College Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke followed with a strong Law and Order pledge. His local representative, Paul Blomgren, the college's acting president, perhaps hoping to become the college's new president, repudiated the previous day's agreements. Blomgren also announced that he was suspending temporarily a host of students and that he intended to cooperate fully with the Los Angeles Police Department investigation into the affair.

President Blomgren was given a 24 hour a day, two-man bodyguard team for protection. The campus swarmed with police. A virtual reign of terror descended upon every black student in the college, both the innocent as well as the guilty. Police harassment tactics were applied to everyone suspected of even being remotely sympathetic to the students. Working from photographs taken of every incoming student during the summer, police got victims of the sit-in to identify dozens of students. Scores



of John and Jane Doe warrants were issued. Since all black faces seem to be alike to hysterical whites, a number of obvious false identifications took place. One warrant was issued for a student who was sitting in the office of a professor at another college some thirty miles away at the time of the demonstration. Other students arrested from photographic identification were later found to be either in class or at their dorm. One of the accused had an airtight alibi. He had been in jail since September on car-theft charges.

As of Friday, November 15th, 37 students had been arrested. Nine white SDS students were charged with trespassing. Twenty-eight black students were each charged with 23 felony counts of kidnapping and also of conspiracy and burglary. High bail was set for all the students.

The detective in charge of the investigation, a Lt. Gene Rock, gave an extraordinary interview to the college newspaper, the *Daily Sundial,* on November 15th. In this interview Lt. Rock denied charges that false arrests had been made. "However, any arrested person has the right to make this charge," he said. "We are making every effort to see that no one wrongly goes to jail." "It is utterly ridiculous for anyone to believe that our system of justice would permit mass John and Jane Doe warrants to be used on this campus," Rock said. According to Rock, Doe warrants have been used, but as a clerical aid to the D.A., and to allow the orderly surrender arrangement with the students to be carried out.

The Administration sent letters of temporary suspension to many students and called for hearings to determine whether or not they should be suspended permanently. This came at the same time that serious criminal charges were being filed by the District Attorney's office. Some faculty began to ask questions concerning due process and double jeopardy.

The faculty, a majority of whom condemned the blacks initially, met on November 7th to discuss the general situation. The meeting was to be open to the press, interested students and the public at large. A few hours before the meeting the ground rules were changed to exclude all but the faculty who assembled in an atmosphere that can be compared only to the Democrats' Chicago Convention. Campus police were stationed at the entrance to the meeting hall and demanded identification cards. Despite this security, one noticed a surprising number of people, obviously not faculty, carrying tape recorders. After vehement protest by a few faculty, the tape recording minions of the law were ordered from the room.

The victims of the sit-in told a hair-raising story of captivity, near and actual violence. No black students were permitted to tell their side of the story on the grounds that criminal charges were pending against them. However, the black students were not permitted the option of sending a representative to the meeting to give even a generalized account of the affair from their point of view.

When certain faculty protested the one-sidedness of the proceedings, the majority of the faculty booed and hooted them down. When others, notorious administration lackeys, rose in support of the administration's crackdown on the students, they were cheered. One professor had the temerity to request the appointment of an impartial fact-finding commission. He was voted down, and the body voted overwhelmingly for administration's actions. Despite a vote of support for the EOP program, the racial overtones of the meeting were unmistakable. The faculty had conducted an old fashioned Stalinist type purge trial. The victims were black students.

Student reaction to the sit-in was similar to that of the faculty. One student, who reportedly announced that he was only a young Jewish boy seeking an education, circulated a petition supporting the administration's firm stand. He reported receiving more than 2,500 signatures. A meeting in support of the BSU's demands attracted no more than 600 students.

On November 11th a student-faculty judicial court attempted to process the complaints against the black students. The hearing was so biased and conducted with

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such incompetence that it soon bogged down on procedural matters. Although reminded of the double jeopardy problem,the court refused to abandon its witchhunt and met again on November 18th. It again bogged down in procedural wrangles.

In the meanwhile, a minority of faculty appealed to the acting president to lift the student suspensions pending court hearings. This appeal was based on the proposition that suspension was a punishment before anyone had been convicted of a crime. After two weeks of negotiations and soul-searching, President Blomgren dropped the suspensions and the campus hearings.

On Friday, December 20, the last class day before the Christmas recess, the Grand Jury indicted twenty-eight black students for kidnapping, conspiracy to commit kidnapping, false imprisonment, burglary and robbery. Seventy-five indictments in all were returned.

In addition to the indictments, the Grand Jury produced a report on campus disorders. The report, characterized by the Los Angeles *Times* as "hardhitting," recommended that students or faculty arrested or indicted for disorderly campus demonstrations be suspended pending trial, since "it is (contrary) to the interest of an academic community to permit a person charged with a felony offense, arising out of acts of civil disobedience which occurred at or adjacent to an educational institution, to continue as a faculty member or student while such charges are still pending." The report urged also a study of the Educational Opportunities Program to determine whether "any persons or organizations" require students as a precondition of enrollment to agree to engage in acts of violence once they come on campus.

The outcome of the students' cases will not be known for months or years to come. However, certain short as well as long-range conclusions are inescapable. It is not enough to simply bring in a few hundred black or brown students from the ghetto to an all-white suburban campus community. Such students are unprepared to cope with the rigors of middle-class college life without considerable assistance along the way. Both the faculty and the administration must be sensitive to their needs and must be prepared to accommodate with compassion and understanding to their problems of adjustment. Tokenism will not do. Yet tokenism is about as much as these students can expect, for it is abundantly clear at San Fernando Valley State College that neither the community nor most faculty, administrators or students want blacks and browns mongrelizing our tax-supported campuses.

The question of control is eminently moral

YOUNG RADICALS & PROFESSORIAL CRITICS

IRVING LOUIS HOROWITZ

While there has been a great deal of analysis of student riots, unrest and regimentation on American campuses, there have been stunningly few defenses of this unrest from the adult portion of the university community. Instead, professors have been publishing articles, and with increasing frequency, criticizing the current wave of student rebellion. The most serious of these academic critics include figures like Diana Trilling, Irving Howe, Seymour Martin Lipset, and Lewis Feuer.

This professorial response deserves to be examined in its own turn, but first a sociological appraisal of the critics themselves might be made.

The characteristics shared by these people are (1)) they are all in their forties and fifties; (2) they are professional liberals; (3) their material usually appears in "traditional" socialist magazines; (4) their critiques invariably contain strong allusions to the '30s and the struggles between the Communist and the anti-Communist left; and finally (5) each of them appears to have a vested interest in academic liberalism as the quintessence of campus politics.

Interestingly enough, serious adult defenses of student unrest usually stem from non-academic, or at best, marginal academic sources. The names that most readily come to mind are Hal Draper, a librarian in Berkeley; Norman Mailer, the novelist; and Paul Goodman, one of the few practicing "free-wheeling" and unattached intellectuals in the United States. Others who have been relatively sympathetic to the student cause, such as Herbert Marcuse and Noam Chomsky, while philosophically instrumental in motivating the youth rebellion (despite the sharpest possible ideological differences between the two), in practice have found themselves at radical variance with student aims and ambitions, at least as those aims and ambitions were exercised by student militants at Columbia University and San Francisco State College. On the other hand, someone like Amitai Etzioni (his clear sympathies with the students notwithstanding) has been more involved in the adjudication of stu-

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dent-administration conflict than with either active participation in the rebellion or theoretical justification for such uprisings.

One might consider the low degree of faculty support for the current wave of student rebellion part of a self-fulfilling prophecy by which students define themselves over and against their professors in the same general terms that faculty members often define themselves over and against university administrators. The student militants tend to see the professorial Estate not as one of genteel marginality in the social whirl, but as a tawdry and organic involvement in the social world. Students' rhetoric indicates that they consider their professors economically and politically powerful rather than what they are in fact—economically and politically impotent.

There are other aspects to the students' self-definition of the situation, but in each case these would be typical of any student subculture. We are concerned with the political aspects of the situation. It is clear that this generation has the time and the affluence to see itself as a social subclass having permanent political and social aims, even though the state of being a student is transitional.

However, the main purpose of these remarks is not to define origins of the student initiative, but to characterize the faculty academic response. There are two main aspects of this response.

First, nearly every old liberal critic of the New Left has had a strong commitment in the past generation which included a struggle against the old left, or at the very least a traumatic confrontation that led to an abandonment of old allegiances.

Second, each of the main professorial critics deals with the New Left very much as if it is a continuation of the old left instead of as it perceives itself—in sharp dichotomy with what came before. Indeed, the critics have portrayed the left as a continuum, while students have presented the new wave of radicalism as highly discrete and separable from previous eras of student struggles.

Third, it is characteristic of the professional professoriate to confront the imperfections and vagaries of student action with the perfections of history and doctrine. Nearly every critique has made the absence of a program on the part of the new student left a central point, and accused radicals of a lack of concrete goals. In point of fact this criticism is largely justified, although reasons for the absence of specific goals are rarely discussed. Rather than fault the students, perhaps the answers are to be found in the betrayal of socialism and in the failure to present an economic alternative that is more viable or at least more morally worthwhile than the capitalist system which Soviet socialism seeks to displace. This, combined with the behavior of the Soviet Union as a national state rather than as a member of the international socialist community, has made the formation of New Left goals an exceedingly difficult chore. Instead of working out parameters of a future society, the old professorial left has been content to criticize, while the new student left remained content with not stipulating its goals.

There are obvious tactical advantages to having ambiguously defined goals. The network of recruitment can be cast much wider, while chances for polemical falling out among the dedicated are greatly restricted. And, a point easily overlooked, the new student left is remarkably sensitive to the totalitarian ideological styles of the old left. In the very act of rejecting specific socialist goals there is also a rejection of totalitarian ideologies.

However, the New Left has replaced demands for complete ideological consistency with demands for absolute adherence to a style of living. As might be expected of any group devoted to "total" change of existing society, the new student left requires a maximum commitment of its followers, but in terms of life-style rather than of ideology. While a variety of beliefs is acceptable, what counts is the way supporters act rather than what they profess. The new student left demands consistency of action rather than in verbiage.

Their peculiar brand of totalitarianism creates its own typology of problems. An almost pathological fear of "selling out" to the system precludes involvement in positions of institutional power, indeed, in most forms of legitimate occupation. In demanding maintenance of an uncompromising life-style, the New Left excludes the possibility that its advocates may become gradualists, but it also provides slender moral basis for radical politics beyond student days and no means of extending student power concepts into society in general. In short, the reason many top professorial critics find the new student left either feeble or foolish is perhaps the greatest single source of its strength: its refusal to be categorized or criticized.

Professorial critics such as Trilling frequently criticize the New Left for acting as a moralizing group rather than a political force. They note that student rebels rarely link the struggle to the quality of their instruction, but concern themselves with the control of the institutional mechanism. However, why this should be considered nonpolitical is difficult to appreciate. After all, the question of control is eminently moral. It appears that the old left always considered the university as a liberalizing or radicalizing agency rather than as a conservatizing agency. And it is the propensity of the university to "lock in" students that is clearly perceived by many members of the New Left as the central weakness in the current round of confrontations.

Other detractors who have felt the predominant character of the student rebellion to be moral rather than political have been concerned with the size rather than the character of unrest. Lipset in particular has insisted that although students succeeded in playing a significant role in the civil rights struggles of an earlier period, and in focusing attention on the higher educational bureauc-

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racy, the recent student movement has not succeeded in mobilizing a really significant segment of the student population. While there are obvious problems in defining just what constitutes a "significant segment" of any population, it is clear that Lipset has become so enamored of electoral processes as to forget his revolutionary history. For in the process of rapid social change, population clusters of three to ten percent—the estimated size of the core and periphery of student rebels—have been significantly able to achieve their goals of either shutting down or transforming university life. At peak points, not organization membership but mass student participation has most frequently determined the success of a student uprising. Only if "politics" is defined in narrow electoral terms, or student government terms, can the character of the present movement be described as non-political in character.

Why should there be not only a crisis of university education but a crisis within the university, a lack of professorial confidence in radical student behavior? What should immediately be appreciated is that generational factors are relatively constant. When students were politically quiescent, the professoriate condemned them for being a "silent generation"; now that the student population has become politically alert and demanding, the professoriate condemns them either on tactical grounds or for lacking the requisite calm and judiciousness needed in public affairs. Thus, the sharpness of the current critique may also be viewed as a function of the generation gap.

Three additional answers come readily to mind, although it is difficult to say which is the most important single factor.

In the first place, for the old professoriate, going to college or going to the university was a chance for achievement, for moving beyond the occupational and prestige levels of the parent generation. But now the very same process, magnified and massified, has become a *familial obligation* rather than as an *individual choice*. The growth of the university in the quarter of a century since the end of World War II from a community of one million to a community of more than eight million, indicates this radical shift from the special favored position of higher education to its general acceptance as a requisite for "life."

Confusion on the part of the professoriate arises. There is an incredulous disbelief that, given such a vast set of opportunities, students would rebel. In fact, the rebellion is not so much against the opportunities gained by going to college but about the lack of options available to those who choose not to go to college. The "credential society" sharply curtails possibilities of real achievement without a college degree. There is a real concerted effort—if one can say anyone acts in concert —among families, friends, and draft boards to insure male university attendance. For the families of girls, nearly the same amount of pressure is applied in order to insure a proper locale for meeting the prospective "right" husband. The weight of middle-class familial expectations looms far larger as a factor in student rebellion than it could when going to college itself represented a rebellion against lower-class family wishes.

In this respect, the acute ambivalence of many Negro students becomes clearer. Although they clearly share with the professoriate an appreciation of upward mobility and increasing life chances, they also share with the student radicals a genuine concern for the bureaucratic anti-democratic spirit of university hierarchies—a phenomenon they come into contact with simply by virtue of their racial position in American society.

The old professoriate was touched by the fear of failure, but the new student radical is touched by the guilt of success. The natural history of moving from college radicalism to occupational conservatism is a *rite du passage* gone through by nearly every member of the professorial Estate. Many look back to radical pasts. Few can claim radical commitments in the present, and fewer still have any prospects for a radical future. Precisely such an assault on the natural history of political socialization—from radicalism to conservatism in four easy years—has been made by the New Left in common with such radical regimes as Maoist Communism in China. It is not the nature of their respective political systems that links the Red Guards and the student radicals in America, but rather their shared apprehension of being overtaken by middle-generational conservatism, or as it is sometimes known, right-wing socialism. In this sense every professorial attack on the student radical movement serves as a negative reinforcement precisely because of this gap between generational ideologies.

A second new element in the present situation, one that certainly separates the old professorial critics from the new student movement, is the infusion on campus of new ethnic groups, such as Negroes, Puerto Ricans, and Mexican-Americans. Such groups share with the working-class in general a far different attitude toward higher education than older ethnic groups, such as the Jews and other European immigrants from relatively well-developed economic regions. They share a functional rather than reverential view of the educational process. The idea of a liberal arts education has become subverted in some measure by the idea of application. The demand for relevance as an ethnic demand is at its core an insistence upon occupational specificity, to assure for oneself a meaningful role in society.

Too often the position of minorities such as Negroes in college has been interpreted in simplistic terms. It is assumed that either they want to be fully integrated into the American system of higher education, or that they are in rebellion against that system on ideological grounds. Rather, it might be that their vision of college education is functional rather than ideological, occupa-

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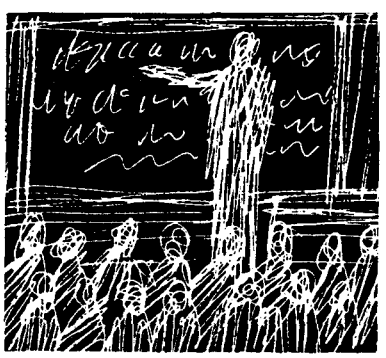
tional rather than professional. These differences create unspoken and unmentioned tensions that may appear as a struggle between campus blacks and campus whites, when in fact the struggle could better be conceptualized as concerning the nature of the liberal arts university *per se*.

The attitude of the old professoriate toward the black students is quite instructive. It is perhaps best summed up by Irving Howe in a recent essay. As a representative of a significant ideological wing of professorial liberalism, Howe shares with his colleagues a belief in the desirability and attainability of egalitarian goals for the Negro students. But he perceives of these goals only in traditional terms of integration and participation. As long as demands are made for equity, and for greater attention to the economic and intellectual needs of minority groups in American society, these minority demands elicit the wholehearted support of the professoriate.

When demands are made for separatism, such as racial demands for separate black housing to offset the effects of fraternity segregation policies, or for separate black studies institutions to offset ongoing Establishment institutions dedicated to the study of East African



Affairs, Russian Affairs, and so on, the attitude toward the "extremist" demands of the black students becomes increasingly hostile and negative. In other words, when the radical student movement permeates and links up with the black student organizations, the special place of Negroes in American society is overlooked and the special value of going to college resurrected.

Black student demands for separateness and para-university structure do pose serious challenges to the traditional norms of academic freedom. They also raise the specter of the "Balkanization" of higher education. While today the demand is for a black study group, tomorrow there can be the same type of demand for a Polish or Irish study group. The role of ideology and racial parity can in this way blunt the edge of universal criteria for the training of people, criteria which are historically linked to the autonomous functioning of the university.

However, this danger duly noted, the fact is that the Negro is only replicating the practices now extant in higher education. For years academia countenanced the separatism foisted upon the community by the fraternity and sorority system. Only at this time, belatedly and without much feeling, has this WASPish system of old student power opened itself to the demands of minority groups. There was no hue and cry of factionalism or separatism when fraternities first established their exclusionary policies. The fragmentation and even polarization of American university campuses has been going on for quite some time. The multiplication of institutions and agencies on American campuses having policy implications without potential theoretical spinoffs is too well known to require further detailed commentary. Everything from the Institute for Defense Analysis to police "science" training centers has become standard university fare. In point of fact, the whole foreign area studies programming and military training programs have institutionalized separatism at every level of university life—the movement towards cross-fertilization of ideas and interdisciplinary research notwithstanding.

While criticisms directed at the Negro groups are abstractly well taken, and obviously are presented with the telling force of logic, the same kind of logic was never applied by professorial critics in an earlier age when the institutionalization of separatism and particularism initiated by the World War and the Cold War arose. Thus it is that the professional ideology of the established professoriate, now firmly linked to the medieval mythology of university autonomy, finds itself unwanted by the New Left and unappreciated by the black militants. In its self-righteous reconstruction of the past it is simply out-of-tune—with the history that was, or the utopia that is becoming.

This has agonizing consequences, since at times the traditional definition of the university, and such concepts as academic freedom, are contradicted by the demands for black control of certain parts of the educational curriculum. The struggle becomes one of autonomy at the level of student control versus integrity at the level of intellectual performance. And as in all real struggles, the problem is choosing between alternative goods. What is entailed is a radical departure from traditional, professional concepts of the purpose of a university. Little wonder that the older professorial educationalists invariably attack the new student left for being oblivious to the nature of the university! But the student radical response is that the classic system of higher learning in America is often more mythic than real. The role of military contract work, the place of large-scale business enterprise in defining curriculum, and the role of government *per se* in determining the upper limits of university experimentation, has finally made obsolete certain inherited standards of academic freedom. The struggle of student rebels has thus shifted from one of academic freedom to one of organizational control. This in itself should be a sobering indication that we have reached a new stage in the maturation of higher education in American life.

The third and final point is that professorial opposi-

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tion to student radicalism stems in part from the retreat of liberalism from the prosaic political arena to the academic realm. The university has become the organic and natural expression of classical liberalism, the resting home of ex-presidents and future-advisors. The anti-intellectualism and the fanaticism of students perceived in this context seem to present the same sort of threat to liberal values in the current generation as the threat represented by the political right thirty years ago. The rhetoric of fanaticism of the new student left tends to be confused with that of the old anti-student right and to be seen as a common assault on living the life of reason and living the life of shared judgment and experience—reason being equated with professionalism. The angularity and sharpness of struggle is thus a consequence of the social victimization of students, rather than a general consequence of the social malaise in this country.

The transition of the university from a conservative force to the university as a liberal force emerged gradually. It took place as a result of the exhaustion of the conservative upper classes of the Eastern seaboard, and the Latinist conservative curriculum which prevailed in the trolley-car colleges. The older conservatism was unable to service a modern technological society, even though it may remain operational in the realm of political struggles. Liberalism in its new form never announced its ideology, but rather became important in the university context as a by-product for the needed expertise of the institution. The liberal persuasion assumed control from the conservatives on the American academic campuses not as a fighting creed but as a genteel by-product of its presumed technological proficiency.

The high irony is that the classical liberal in his form as the modern professorial educationalist has become obligated to defend all kinds of federal programs for social welfare and for international domination, again as a by-product of the continuing need for expertise. In this way the professional liberalism that stands in such marked contrast to the student ideology on American campuses has become an enemy to the new student radicals. It is these liberals who now see the role of the university as something other than a technical *tour de force* and an institution that needs to be defended—from students rather than from administrators.

Catholic universities

REPEAT PERFORMANCE?

JAMES HITCHCOCK

Voltaire's old cry "I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it" is emblazoned on the modern liberal's coat of arms, yet the judgment which it implies about human psychology—that a passionate commitment to one's own beliefs can coexist with a universal tolerance—seems doubtful. Only a few years ago a concern for constitutional rights and due process were the virtual obsessions of liberal intellectuals, yet it is now quite common to hear "bourgeois civil liberties" denigrated and interest in procedural rights has been almost totally displaced on the Left by an interest in the tactics of confrontation.

The contempt which young radicals now profess for their liberal fathers and professors is born perhaps partly of their sense of the sham which was in fact involved in so much civil libertarianism. Many liberals believed strongly in procedural rights because there was little else they did believe in, and they abhorred repression because they recognized no creed worth defending. The new generation is thus at the same time admirable for its commitments and sinister in its apparent readiness to use selective repression against ideas it considers dangerous.

This new crisis affects the Catholic schools in a peculiar way, because of their obvious situation at the heart of the tension between commitment and openness and because they suffer from culture lag. In fact the better Catholic schools, just recovering from one identity crisis, seem likely to be plunged very shortly into another, and anyone who was at a leading Catholic school ten years ago and has returned recently is likely to experience a rather disquieting *déjà vu*.

Qualified support for the Catholic schools has come recently from an unexpected source—the Harvard philosopher Henry David Aiken, who, writing in July 11 *The New York Review of Books* remarks that "Throughout the national universities, there is a groping towards a recognition of the religious dimensions of existence," and adds, ". . . the 'breakdown of the Catholic ghetto' is a good thing, but the breakdown of intellectual ghettos at M.I.T. and Harvard might be, educationally, an even better thing, and conceivably the religious colleges could offer aid in this direction." To anyone raised on John Tracy Ellis the latter statement is heresy.

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Yet Professor Aiken has probably diagnosed the crisis of the universities accurately and succinctly, even if he uses the term "religion" in a somewhat equivocal sense. On one level the student rebellion is directed at the immoral commitments which the universities have made to the government and to private industry, but the more perceptive radicals see beyond this to a deeper malaise, which is the university's stance of intellectual detachment and objectivity, pure scholarship. Such neutrality, they believe, is an illusion which makes possible many kinds of unrecognized betrayals. But even if it were possible, it would be fundamentally anti-human, since it encourages men to avoid the moral choices which are the essence of life.

The Catholic Scene

In form, though obviously not in content, this approaches the philosophy of Catholic higher education which prevailed until very recently and still prevails in many places, namely, the conviction that knowledge itself is sterile and irrelevant and that education must be concerned primarily with moral issues and what was formerly called character-formation. In the Catholic schools this conviction led to situations too familiar to need summarizing—faculty with dubious academic credentials and no commitment to scholarship, hiring and promotion often based on non-academic factors like personal character, hostility towards intellectual inquiry, the belief that the school was successful if it turned out students loyal to the Church but poorly educated, etc. Faculty who tried to remain committed to disinterested intellectuality were often persecuted, and students who were similarly inclined left the university embittered.

A decade has made a great deal of difference in at least the major Catholic schools. The Thomistic establishment seems to have collapsed overnight. Administrators are concerned about respectable degrees and faculty publications. The kind of clergy who thought of themselves as chaplains first and teachers second have been pushed into the wings. Religious exercises like Mass and retreats are no longer compulsory. On the official level at least, and in the minds of most faculty, the Catholic university is like the secular university, committed to disinterested scholarship and a kind of ivory-tower intellectuality. Personal and subjective matters like the salvation of one's soul are thought of as rather vulgar and something to be concerned about in one's spare time.

At precisely the moment that this vision of university life, after much blood and tears, is being accepted by the Catholic schools its entire validity is being challenged from the most unexpected quarter—the radical students. And although these students share few of the specific commitments of the old guard in Catholic education, they do articulate, in an immensely more sophisticated way, a similar philosophy of education.

Civil liberties are essential not only to protect the rights of weak minorities but also to prevent society from being torn apart in strife between groups of nearly equal strength, since if these groups cannot be persuaded to respect each other they can at least be persuaded to observe certain procedural rules which permit diversity of opinion. Inevitably the worst fanatics in each cause (or the most clear-sighted moralists) find these restrictions intolerable and scandalous. When weapons' research, leading to the death of children, is being carried out on one's own campus, why be concerned with the legality of preventing Dow interviews?

The dangers of this argument, even when it is employed in the highest causes, are concretely obvious to veterans of the Catholic schools because they have watched it being worked out on their own campuses. Ten years ago some priests argued with equal force that since what was at stake was nothing less than the students' immortal souls, dangerous books and dangerous speakers should not be allowed on campus. (Sophisticated liberals asked scornfully if students would not encounter these ideas elsewhere, just as sophisticates today ask student demonstrators if they really expect to end the war by stopping Dow recruitment on campus. The question is irrelevant in both cases.) Tom Hayden now proposes that radical students raid the offices of professors engaged in weapons' research and, as a last resort, destroy buildings which are being misused. Assuming the breakdown of rational communication, which usually occurs when fundamental values are at stake, on what grounds other than sheer force would radical Catholics oppose moralistic raids on the bookstore or the shouting down of visiting Marxist speakers? A measure of freedom has been won in the Catholic schools primarily through the ceaselessly reiterated argument that free inquiry must be respected and that, in the terms of one professor, metaphysics precedes ethics, i.e., the intellectual must first come to understand that which really exists before he prescribes what should exist.

Prescinding, however, from the crudest aspects of the student rebellion, there are other parallels between it and reactionary Catholic educational theory which have not been publicly noticed. A kind of anti-intellectualism is obvious, since student activists are likely to distrust and despise professors who remain too cool and detached towards public events, just as some Catholics distrust professors who can talk objectively about Communism. This attitude can easily shade into dishonest scholarship, as any attempt to modify an oversimplified view is taken as a form of heresy and as evidence of moral complacency. Some radicals seem emotionally incapable of sustaining their full commitment if even the slightest saving grace is granted the American establishment, just as some Catholics are incapable of sustaining their commitment if they are forced to acknowledge that the Church has often failed seriously throughout history. If the purpose

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of education is not the pursuit of some kind of objective knowledge but rather the arousing and focusing of moral passions, the varieties of reality will inevitably be homogenized into a consistent and satisfying myth of the world.

Many student radicals are of course highly sophisticated and intellectual, but in a limited way. Their grasp of political ideology and their powers of sociological analysis are often acute, but for them the fundamental questions are no longer open, if they ever were. They resemble the Scholastic theologians, who were also capable of the most subtle and sophisticated intellectual activity, provided that certain of their fundamental assumptions were never seriously questioned. Presumably this was what Bernard Shaw meant when he said a Catholic university is a contradiction in terms, and the remark is equally valid if applied to a possible New Leftist university, in which the primacy of politics and action, the bankruptcy of existing culture and institutions, the general validity of Marxist categories, etc., would be axioms as obvious as the existence of God and the authority of the Church were axioms for the Scholastics.

Problems

The radical temper poses certain problems for the university also in terms of the people who will dominate it and set its tone, beginning with the students themselves. Intense activism obviously does not permit much time for reading (a fact which some activists will admit), and if the academic demands of the university are adjusted accordingly, there will be a diminution of intellectual quality in favor of other values, just as in the unreformed Catholic university an active Sodality member would be more respected by the administration than a brilliant student mathematician. This same shift in values will affect quality of the faculty, and just as in some Catholic schools retired missionaries can obtain appointments as theology professors and unscholarly religious can be promoted for their piety, Theodore Roszak, in *The Dissenting Academy,* now proposes that faculty might legitimately be promoted for having gone on peace missions to Hanoi.

No faculty can teach well without the respect of their students, and a university dominated by radical activism is likely to be one in which not only is scholarship not respected but any significant intellectual activity which has no immediately apparent applicability will be denigrated. Part of the liberal arts tradition is to plant seeds which will mature slowly, but the current radical temper is inhospitable to this idea. In backward schools genuine intellectuals become demoralized through the feeling that no one in the school respects their work, while the most 'relevant' and effective teachers are the local equivalents of Norman Vincent Peale. A similar crisis of identity and self-confidence could affect even the best secular schools under plausible circumstances.

Yet the awakening "religious" dimension of education which Professor Aiken notices is surely a healthy thing and long overdue, and the dangers involved in coming to terms with it do not justify seeking refuge in the obviously sterile ideal of wholly "objective" knowledge. Professor Aiken may be right in thinking that the Catholic schools can help the secular schools in this regard, but perhaps their most useful help will be negative, in serving as examples of the errors to be avoided as the idea of commitment is reintroduced into the universities.

This negative example is itself a powerful argument against precipitate or revolutionary change in the secular schools, as distinct from planned reform, since the doctrinaire spirit and extreme presentmindedness of so many radical students threatens precisely those abuses from which the Catholic schools have only barely freed themselves. For the Catholic schools themselves the present educational ferment poses real possibilities and great dangers, and perhaps surprisingly the spirit of the age seems to dictate for the Catholic schools a rather conservative stance, albeit in two quite different respects.

The first is the realization that secularity, at least in the crudest sense, is not required of them, since secular intellectuals are in fact abandoning the idea of intellectual neutrality as ultimately undesirable. In principle, if often not in practice, the Catholic university can once again claim without embarrassment that it offers answers to certain perennial problems, since the most avant garde students now militantly insist that they want answers and not merely an education which endlessly sharpens their facility for asking questions.

This does not justify in any way a return to old repressive practices, the protection of orthodoxies through dishonest means. Students must be exposed to many philosophies and must have the right to challenge the "answers" which are presented to them. Yet there is no reason why some schools cannot openly proclaim their general tone as Catholic, just as others may come to have, are coming to have, a Marxist-anarchist tone or a scientific-positivistic tone. There should also be no particular scandal in the fact that a majority of the faculty are Catholics, just as, at some future date, the majority of the Columbia faculty could conceivably be Socialists. This will mean that although individual Marxists, Buddhists, or agnostics may teach their beliefs in Catholic schools, most of the theology will be Catholic, the history department may have a primary interest in ecclesiastical history, etc. (In fact academic orthodoxies have always been enforced in even the best secular schools, although this is rarely acknowledged; Harvard is unlikely to hire more than an occasional showcase phenomenologist, for example.) It also means that, while students should not be forced to attend religious exercises, the university will encourage religious activity on campus, just as hopefully it will encourage a measure of social and political activism.

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The other respect in which the Catholic schools must now be conservative, as distinct from reactionary, is precisely with respect to the professionalization of education which young radicals find so offensive. Schools like Berkeley and Columbia with long- and well-established academic traditions can afford at this point to become somewhat less rigid, to deemphasize published scholarship, to retain charismatic teachers who lack doctorates, etc.

For the Catholic schools, however, such a course could easily be disastrous, since they have not yet built the solid foundation of academic competence which alone will make experimentation possible. Professor Aiken's words are directed against the ideal of professionalization, the dominance of the graduate school, analyzed by David Riesman and Christopher Jencks in their book, *The Academic Revolution*. Aiken argues for a "second academic revolution," now taking place, in which professionalism, research, and the ideal of neutral objectivity will give way to a more personalized, unstructured situation in which values and feelings will have a legitimate place. The Catholic schools of the past were in many ways quite rigid, yet one of their major weaknesses was also a lack of structure—a casualness towards education and a tolerance of incompetence. Under the guise of radical reform these weaknesses should not be allowed to reinsinuate themselves.

On the practical level this means that administrators in Catholic schools must continue to demand that their faculty have respectable degrees, that they publish, and that before all they demonstrate a technical competence in their fields. Students also must be held to a high academic standard, and demonstrated knowledge must be a prerequisite for continued membership in the university. If in the process certain talented but undisciplined faculty and students are unduly pressed, this is unfortunately the price the Catholic schools must pay in compensation for their past sins.

The *déjà vu* spoken of earlier is strongest in the area of theological education and the place of the religious orders on campus. Most of these orders, with obvious exceptions, do not have a strong intellectual tradition. Before the era of reform their members, whether as teachers or students, were often frankly unsympathetic to academic inquiry. They were inferior teachers or students chiefly through lack of interest, and many conflicting obligations kept them from study. Some of these orders have, in ten years' time, painfully developed at least rote allegiance to scholarly values. Others, however, unusually benighted in the past through sheer ignorance, have become unusually radical in the present precisely through the absence of any intellectual moorings. Their members still display an intensely practical, missionary spirit which scorns mere intellectuality. Inevitably, especially if these are idealistic, turned-on young men, their influence works against the academic character of the institution. (A not uncommon experience in today's Catholic university is of the talented seminarian who fails to do good academic work because his time is taken up in the inner-city. The latter commitment may be superior to the former, but the two cannot easily coexist.)

Unhappily, the theology departments, although greatly reformed and certainly much more alive and interesting than a decade ago, are in many respects still the weak points of the universities. The teachers, especially the lay teachers, are often people without doctorates or with degrees earned in new and uncertain programs, no competence in any secular discipline, and no experience outside the Catholic schools. Their style and attitudes are too often not greatly different from those of the clerics who were teaching ten years ago, even if their ideas are radically different. Except for Scripture studies, theology is not a rigorous discipline in the way that even literature is, for example, and theological education, freed from the rigidities of the Scholastic manuals, seems often to become highly subjective, propagandistic, and the mirror image of those past rigidities—the old priests distrusted 'the world,' the new layman rhapsodizes about it; the cleric loved the institutional Church, the layman despises it. Both often think of themselves as apologists and preachers rather than teachers. Their aim is to make converts rather than to educate.

Ironically this discussion has wholly omitted what is likely to be the crucial factor in the future development of the Catholic colleges, beyond the reach of all philosophies, and that is money. As the Catholic ghetto breaks up and public colleges proliferate, fewer Catholics will choose to pay the heavy costs required for Catholic education (this is apparently not yet true for the colleges). Some administrators already realize that their only salvation is the uncertain prospect of federal aid. The laicizing of the boards of trustees and the projection of a secular image are certainly the first steps in a campaign to this end.

It seems likely, however, that at least for the better Catholic schools, secularization is not a pretense but a real possibility. The clerical administrators, true to the sociological principle, are eventually more influenced by their peers—other professional educators, foundation executives, etc.—than by the less exalted members of their own orders. (In my own university three controversial speakers have been banned in the past two years, but one suspects this was less an attempt to enforce theological orthodoxy than to remain in good standing with the local Secular City.) If faced with the possibility of continued growth and secularization on the one hand or stagnation and a preserved identity on the other, many clerical administrators will probably opt for the former. The choice, if it is forced, would be an unhappy one. In the famous *Commonweal* symposium of last year a recent Fordham graduate boasted that in four years he had rarely seen a priest or heard God mentioned. It seems doubtful that such a situation, if universalized, would be in the best interests of American education as a whole.

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EXPERIMENT AT OLD WESTBURY

Trying to talk

MICHAEL NOVAK

Suppose that a college is given a mandate "to end the lock-step march in which one semester follows on another until four of youth's most energetic years have been consumed." Suppose, further, that it is obliged to "admit students to full partnership in the academic world." Suppose, finally, that the nation's wealthiest state has promised that the college "will have an almost unrestricted opportunity for innovation and creativity."

The State University of New York, College at Old Westbury, had been adequately terrorized by just such a mandate. The college is scheduled to open in the fall of 1970. But as a way of planning for the official opening its president, Harris Wofford, has gathered a student body of just over one hundred and a faculty of thirteen this year to try out an initial program and to plan others as they go. Some twenty freshmen are not on campus; they are in Israel for the year. Another fifty or so will leave the campus in February for field assignments which they have selected in various urban centers, mostly in New York city. During the month of October, about forty students left campus all day to teach in the New York City schools disrupted by the teachers' strike, and came back for their college seminars at night.

None of us at Old Westbury knows exactly what is happening here. The standards and criteria to which we are accustomed do not apply. Administrators teach; faculty members have to learn fields outside their professional competence; students have equal voice on the committee that hires faculty. On the other hand, all administrators have secretaries, while faculty members must use a patchwork pool. Students recognize that their partnership is "full but unequal." Their functions encroached upon by administrators and students, the faculty is having an identity crisis. A good number of students seem vaguely depressed; concern and excitement about ideas is barely beginning to characterize conversation. Some students think the school is designed to siphon off all the radicals from all the forty-three campuses of the State University and to tranquilize them by co-opting them. Decision-making procedures sometimes seem to be lost somewhere in the marshes between full democratic assembly, authoritative fiat, and the slow coalescence of daily acts. Faculty meetings—open to student oral participation, but not student voting—have often been masterpieces of "getting everything out on the table" (i.e., candor that does not shrink from being savage). The lock step has, indeed, been broken, but where now are we marching?

The central conception of the school is to build a series of federated colleges, each one of which will have a special curricular focus and about 500 paying and 40 paid students (elsewhere known as faculty). The first such constituent college is in the planning stage and will open in 1969-70; it is a liberal arts program whose focus is the urban environment. The second college, perhaps looking toward 1970-71 although already in a nuclear state, will be a liberal arts program focused on changing forms of consciousness; it will possibly be less innovative than the urban studies college, and at the present stage of planning distantly resembles the program for Hampshire College in Massachusetts. Students and faculty will be free to cross over from one college to the other, but each college will be responsible for the coherence and power of its own program. The interdisciplinary faculty at each college will replace the conventional academic department as the basic organ of administration and planning. It is as though you took forty trained professionals and told them "Here, you take responsibility for teaching 500 students everything they want or need to learn in their college years. If you are weak in certain areas, hire associates or do some studying yourself." For the time being, all faculty and students will be enrolled in the federated Old Westbury, rather than directly into one of the colleges; we are not yet large enough to justify two admissions or hiring procedures.

There is no absolute need for students to have a high school diploma in order to enter Old Westbury, nor is it clear that four years is the required period for receiving a bachelor of arts. Great emphasis is placed upon the depth and range of personal, non-academic experience, at least if such experience is accompanied by reflection and a hunger to learn. Probably a majority of our students will wish to enter graduate school—the best graduate schools. We think their unorthodox qualities and skills will come to be widely sought after. For at Old Westbury, there will be a predominant emphasis upon independent study. It is virtually certain that field work in direct association with academic work will be vigorously encouraged and planned for, if not required.

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(Many students have wide experience in the field before they arrive on campus.) No law book describes the way law is actually administered in Harlem; anthropologists write about the myths of other societies more often than about those of our own (including those that govern the enterprise of modern science and inquiry); folk singers speak ordinary language more powerfully than philosophers; and average American parents think that they themselves are not "culturally deprived," but that the poor are.

In a word, Old Westbury students ought to gain enough experience to detect where and when academic disciplines and average perceptions fail to touch the real world. They ought to become more acute *theoretically*, and to press for more adequate *theories*. Their aim is not merely practical or experiential. The intellectual disciplines, the professional societies, the graduate schools, the colleges are *out of touch*. It is *intellectually* important for students to touch ground, and to help their fellow (although paid) students to do so.

Impregnable Assumption

But those of us with four months' experience at Old Westbury are not inclined to glorify students. It has been trying enough not to strangle a few of them. For the impregnable assumption of more than a few of them was that, as paid faculty members, we had already sold out, submitted timidly to an absurd system of socialization, and allowed our livers to shrink to chicken's size. A prospective faculty member for next year, whom we have worked assidously to tempt to join us, is asked by students on the selection committee, successively "What do you *feel?* You know, just feel." "What would you do if a student came to you unable to talk but was just saying, well, HELP?" A man throroughly competent in his discipline (say, physics) is dismissed as "socially and politically naive." Of another acknowledged expert the consensus is "He talked too much, and didn't even know it." Students on a committee tell us we had better not make a decision on the important issue before us until the whole community can discuss it in an open meeting; but such meetings have been interminable and have become extremely hard to schedule.

Faculty members perceive themselves called upon to be men of courage, compassion, unfailing perception, and psychoanalytic discernment; highly organized, casual, never too busy, foresighted, demanding, gentle, heedless, listening, unswervingly convinced, challenging, legitimizing; allowing independence but caring and close at hand. *In loco parentis* is out but being a perfect father is in. It doesn't hurt to be a little godlike. But it is an age of idol-smashing and the faculty's sense of its own importance and function is battered from every direction. I am

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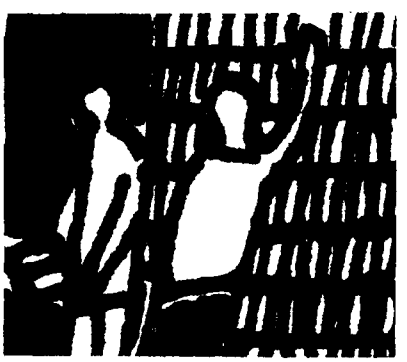
moved to predict that if Old Westbury is a barometer, the greatest struggle of the future is going to find students and administrators united against a faculty whose self-esteem and self-conception are facing an absolutely fundamental, well-aimed threat.

The question of how to evaluate the performance of students is hotly debated. Some (including faculty) say the diploma should be handed to students on the day they arrive, so that bureaucracy will have as little to do as possible with the process of independent, self-motivated study. Others say that students have a *right* to be evaluated, challenged, corrected. Everyone agrees that all evaluations are personal, subjective judgments. Most concede that even well-formed professional judgments (the judge has a Ph.D. and is paid to make them) may be egregiously narrow, merely technical, unhuman. Thence only a little step to: If your Ph.D. is *prima facie* evidence that you have let terrible things be done to your head, why should any student be encumbered by your view of his work? Professional values, criteria, and standards are precisely what are being questioned. It is not clear to some students why logic, clarity, precision, technical competence, verbal skill, the reading of books have more educational value than their opposites. They will not accept a professional's views on education merely on his say-so. "Education for what? To fit into the technological system? You want more Zbigniew Brzezinskis?"

The root of the educational crisis is a change in our image of man. For a long time now, the professor, the



scientist, and the expert in the white coat have been our models of calm, reasonable, pipe-smoking, coolly liberal, moral superiority. But precision and quantification have led to body count. The secular, pragmatic, profane way of life has been found wanting. The professional disciplines have turned out specialists—tools—for arranged slots in the higher education industry; the disciplines are indispensable to industry and state. Yet the stomach-deep revulsion many young people feel against the American way of life is a psychological-social fact of significance; those who ignore it are not "realists." What is important about that revulsion, moreover, is not the numbers or the political power it represents, but its appropriateness. *Shouldn't* a sane man become ill when

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he coolly regards what is happening to our country? *Aren't* our professional academic societies complacent and remote? *Aren't* our schools, even the best of them, basically propagandistic, in thrall to business and state, inwardly enslaving?

It is not clear that Old Westbury can meet even a small part of these problems. Like others, we live with them, with rather raw emotions, every day. We have been chastened to find that innovation is much harder than we thought. The number of possible educational strategies is starkly limited; innovation for its own sake is part of the way of life we abhor. How do young people inspire themselves to create a new model of professional competence and human temper? What we used to call "the humanities" are culturally, socially, and economically conditioned. Our students are aware of experiences from other cultures and from other than white middle class milieux, which make them hunger for a richer version of human accomplishment than any in the older generation offer them. They are a generation without acceptable models. They seek honest symbols, which might illuminate the searing, unprecedented experiences of their youth. Their seeming nihilism is often weariness, from having confronted since their memory first awoke crises too vast for them or anyone.

GLOOMY WEEK

THE SCREEN

I found myself so exhausted when Ingmar Bergman's new film, "Shame," came to its finale, especially because of its last scene, that I couldn't think coherently about this disturbing picture. This is not because "Shame" is difficult or obscure as so many Bergman films are. Actually it is not difficult at all. It is simply a straightforward movie, excellently directed and written by Bergman, restating an old theme that war does not ennoble men but brings out the worst in them. So I saw "Shame" again—to see if it's as disturbing as I first thought. It is. But being more relaxed at my second viewing I was able to appreciate its perfections more.

Bergman tells the story of a husband and wife, who now live on an island in 1971. The symphony orchestra in which they played as first violinists has been dissolved because of the terrible civil war that continues on the mainland. Bergman and his two excellent actors establish the couple well: Max Von Sydow as the sentimental husband, a rather childish hypochondriac who depends on his wife; and lovely Liv Ullman as the young wife who impatiently nags her impractical husband a bit and deplores their being childless. That they love each other in spite of petty bickerings is made clear. Bergman's first-rate photographer, Sven Nykvist, catches well the couple's homelife, their rather dismal farm on this seemingly sunless island, their very few neighbors, and some of the townfolk when they go to sell lingonberries. The couple has never taken sides in the war or even paid much attention to it—until it begins to impinge on the island, and then they find themselves caught between the two factions (never named).

The invaders make the couple appear on a TV program which is later changed for propaganda purposes; so still later the local forces accuse the couple of being collaborators. And the idiocy and senseless horror of war begins to swing into full action. The mayor (well played by Gunnar Bjornstrand) who has long been in love with Liv, gives the moneyless couple some cash, for which Liv goes to bed with him. But when the army shows up and demands the money from the mayor who says he gave it to the couple, Max denies this. And the soldiers force Max to shoot and kill the mayor.

This is only the beginning of the debasement. The soldiers wreck and burn the couple's house and their possessions, including Max's fine violin. The couple flees in terror. The husband and wife now reverse positions, as Max bosses the wife, ruthlessly kills a young boy, threatens to leave Liv because it would be easier to travel without her, and she meekly stumbles along with him as he makes his way to the shore to escape from the island.

While Bergman has given "Shame" his best direction, and the performances throughout are superb, it is hard to believe that decent people who once loved each other would turn on each other as well as friends and neighbors so brutally and fight so hard just to survive. The final scene shows Max and Liv in a small boat with other passengers, a boat from which the sailor-captain who took their money has swum away leaving his escapees floating aimlessly on a sea bobbing with the bodies of dead soldiers. As anti-war pictures go, "Shame" hits a new high in pessimism. This expertly made movie warns us and shames us, but maybe it also shies us away from the movie itself.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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TIGERS OF WRATH AT THE MLA

DORIS GRUMBACH

Two years ago if you had tried to interest anyone in the yearly meeting of the Modern Language Association as a place where something exciting, even *relevant* to the real world, would occur, you would have drawn an incredulous stare. Even this year there was much doubt that anything of editorial interest could possibly happen among the 14,000 college teachers of English and foreign languages who gather, either in New York City or in Chicago, to listen to papers like "Some Acoustic Characteristics of Bulgarian Syllable Nuclei" or "Poetry and Sin in Medieval English Literature" or, perhaps, "Transformational-Generative Grammar." The MLA has become a million-dollar scholarly business in its 83 years of life, with 28,000 members, a permanent staff of 65, and a long history of orderly, calm, friendly, monumentally dull meetings.

Secondary but highly important purpose of MLA's gatherings, what the dissidents were to call "the slave market," and the MLA, in more elevated terms, calls "the Faculty Exchange," is the interviewing for jobs of young Ph.D's, unemployed graduate instructors and assistants, and discontented older professors who meet with chairmen of departments—400 of them present this year—to discuss "appointments." Other less advertised purposes of the meeting are to get away from Pullman, Washington, Cedar Falls, Iowa, and Urbana, Illinois for a bit, to drink with one's friends from other out-of-the-way places, see a few plays, and enjoy the comfortable camaraderie that professional gatherings seem to engender.

There were early signs this year that this meeting would be different. Two months ago MLA sent its membership a "Ballot on the Place of the 1969 Meeting." Carefully constructed, the long green sheet included nine lines of disagreement about going to Chicago, concluded with 30 lines of strongly worded (and, as it turned out, misleading) "facts" to consider in the case for meeting in Chicago. Members were told that the results of the ballot would be announced and then discussed on at the Sunday meeting of the convention.

Another signal of unrest could be received from the pages of the *New York Review of Books*. An ad appeared a month before the December gathering in New York signed by prestigious activist and M.I.T. professor Noam Chomsky (who was invited to the meetings to give the paper on Transformational-Generative Grammar!). It called for an *anti*-MLA meeting to be held the evening before the convention. Site of the meeting: the motherhouse of academic revolt, Columbia University.

Members registering early for MLA meetings discovered that the guidelines for this new challenge to scholarly peace were prepared well in advance. At both hotels, the Americana and the New York Hilton, tables were set up amid the traditional publishers' mart. They contained literature put out by the "New University Conference at the MLA." Buttons reading NO CHICAGO and MOTHER LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION were available, as well as the schedule of a-meetings (anti-meetings?) for the three days of the convention, dittoed articles on "Student Rebellions and the Profession of Literature" by a Harvard graduate student, notices of meetings of special caucases of Teaching Assistants, women, and other on the subjects of grading, hiring, tenure: all the economic nitty-gritty which has rarely before been more than whispered about in convention corridors.

The NUC believes that the American university needs "radical transformation," aims to form a counter-movement or "radical caucus" within the MLA. It now claims 25 chapters in U.S. colleges and universities; its literature emphasises such matters as proposals for an end to the abuses of the profession (by another graduate student), for the establishment of new Marxist courses in aesthetics (by the Graduate Student Union at Columbia), an invitation to write for *The Radical Teacher*, a reprint of Professor Louis Kampf's recent *Nation* article on placing the old concept of liberal arts into a new and meaningful social context. Only jarring note in the whole proletarian, grassroots feel to the stuff piled on the NUC's tables was the announcement of the dues of the new, radical organization: $25, ten dollars higher than MLA dues.

The Association, all unknowing, provided the occasion for the first outburst of rebellion. Eight or nine hundred persons crowded into the Americana's Imperial ballroom for the first session of the first day to hear a scheduled panel on "Student Dissent," which included such famous dissenters as Leslie Fiedler and Richard Poirier. I missed this meeting—faithful to my scholarly past I was hearing a paper in another place at the time on Literature and Phenomenology —but two highly indignant nuns from a junior college in Chicago told me their version of it. Both of them were in a state of uncontained fury because (a) of the NO CHICAGO buttons on so many lapels at that session and (b) of the unscholarly, heated tone of the session which culminated, they reported to me, in inexcusable violence in the corridor just outside.

Later I learned that Louis Kampf tried to prevent the hotel police from removing a poster quoting William Blake: "The tigers of wrath are wiser than the horses of instruction." Rattled, the hotel management called the N.Y. city police, who roughed up Professor Kampf, arrested him and two others, and thus provided the session inside the Imperial Ballroom (!) with the life and lift of instant demonstration of the principles it had been discussing academically. Suggestions raged that bail be collected on the spot, and the war was on, officially.

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Well launched by the hotel and the police, the movement gathered steam everywhere. Posters appeared at once, and where they were forbidden to the walls, stalwart young English instructors, bearded and with the glint of happy battles ahead in their eyes, held signs aloft at strategic points in the hotel.

Vietnam was the subject of an unscheduled, jammed session, a drawing of the Vietcong flag being hastily pasted to the podium just before the ubiquitous Noam Chomsky arrived to speak, and young, flannel-shirted students handed out mimeographed copies of their poetry, liberally sprinkled with substandard English monosyllables. Elsewhere the customary business of the convention went on. The Melville Society tried to decide if it could afford to celebrate the writer's 150th anniversary in symbolically correct Nantucket. The seminar on Travel Literature (12 strong) talked to each other about their small, special enthusiasm. The Conference on Christianity and Literature met to talk about its organization and to hear Cleanth Brooks and others.

As all this was going on the executive secretary of the MLA issued a hasty apology for the arrests of the day before, saying the arrested however, were "not mistreated." Next day another longer apology appeared, deploring "any physical maltreatment of Professor Kampf." Press releases informed us that the official ballot on Chicago had 12,000 returns (28,000 were sent out), of which 8,000 members voted to meet in Chicago next year; 4,000 were against going.

Even the corridors contained dramatic contrasts which pointed to the basic split later to break out in Sunday's business meeting. One young man said to another: "I had my interview, but he said the budget did not allow. . ." as he stood in front of a poster which showed a tragically-burned Vietnamese child over the caption: "I got my job through the MLA."

Saturday night at a major session the last notes of cautious reserve to be sounded for the year were spoken by Professor Sidney Hook (not an English scholar but a philosopher concerned with stemming the tide of student-faculty pressures for social involvement). His long, scholarly talk was catchily titled "The Barbarism of Virtue," and he proceeded to warn the assembled professors that the central task of the modern university is "scholarship, research, and teaching," and that anything else intensifies the recent and deplorable "trend toward the politicalization of scholarship."

Sunday, final day of the meeting, dawned clear and cold in New York. Most of the Catholics were, presumably, at church. At all events and for whatever reason, there were no islands of nuns or groups of priests at the site of the Great Rebellion, which opened quietly to a packed (900) house, and proceeded with deceptive calm through the ordinary business of MLA. After affirming the normal bag of innocuous resolutions, the mood listed leftward.

No, they did *not* wish to accept (unheard-of action in 83 ivy-choked years), the nominations' committee's slate of officers. In place of longtime, most respectable Professor Clifford Atkins, Richard Ohrmann, one of the anti-MLA's leaders, nominated Louis Kampf. After a two-hour, furious debate, one elderly member said loudly into the microphone that he could not recognize these proceedings as the business meeting of the MLA (a real truth there), he wanted no part "of these shenanigans," and departed. "Mein Kampf," murmured a horrified lady objector to the election of the radical professor, referring to the fact that this position as 2nd vice-president made him the inevitable president in 1970.

No, the resolutions submitted by the committee were *not* sufficient. A group from Wesleyan University submitted five additional resolutions condemning the war, the withholding of federal funds from students engaged in "disruptive activities," the draft, the use of law to harass writers like Eldridge Cleaver, Yuri Daniel and LeRoi Jones. All four resolutions were passed after angry argument and parliamentary maneuvering for almost four hours. A

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fifth, dealing with the proposed abandonment of the Center for Editions of American Editions and the use of the funds for education of the disadvantaged, failed to pass, amazingly enough.

The Establishment tried every tactic it could think of, to no avail, to prevent the MLA from being "politicalized" by 2.8 percent of the membership. In the face of these politically tried and experienced radicals who had planned all this carefully, it was like a beached whale being prodded by small boys. The dissenters passed every thing they wanted to pass, including a serious challenge to the location of the 1969 meeting.

What happened here? Nothing more or less than a significant split in the hitherto united, scholarly, if somewhat somnambulant groves of academe, a split similar to and parallel to the black power and student power activities of this year, and to the political upheavals against the machine politics of the primaries and the conventions last year. No longer, it would seem, can a scholarly organization like MLA turn its face from the world or live in the isolated peace of an uninvolved, purely verbal liberalism. MLA and its professors and scholars are not, apparently, any longer immune to the feverish flux of political and social action and civil disobedience or, at least, the 2.8 percent at the business meetings will not let them be. However the split is resolved, MLA will never again escape its own tigers of wrath.

(Doris Grumbach, author and essayist, teaches literature at The College of St. Rose in Albany.)

BOOKS

Columbia and the closed corporation

The Closed Corporation
JAMES RIDGEWAY
Random House, $5.95

Crisis at Columbia
THE COX COMMISSION
Vintage, $1.95

Up Against the Ivy Wall
JERRY L. AVORN AND MEMBERS OF THE STAFF OF THE COLUMBIA DAILY SPECTATOR
Atheneum, $6.50

NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN

"The idea that the university is a community of scholars is a myth," writes James Ridgeway. "The professors are less interested in teaching students than in yanking the levers of their new combines so that these machines will grow bigger and go faster. The university has in large part been reduced to serving as banker-broker for the professors' outside interests. The charming elitism of the professors has long since given way to the greed of the social and political scientists whose manipulative theories aim only at political power. Meanwhile, the undergraduate students lie on campus holding pens, while graduate apprentices read them stories. The stories are boring, and the students turn to making their own 'free universities' or spend their time hatching political revolutions on the outside."

Most of Ridgeway's book is given over to documenting the venality, corruption and conflict of interest of faculty members, administrators and trustees. He's got it all pretty well nailed down —trustees exploiting their special relationship, bribed professors testifying as independent experts before congressional committees, entrepreneurial academicians using their schools to start richly profitable businesses, and the millions conduiting out of the government into the schools to pay for projects that will strengthen America's global imperium.

The book has been attacked for a few

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minor errors of fact, but it's basically sound, a good book giving good information and a point of view you won't get from reading Kennan, Barzun or the other respectables. Nevertheless, it's not entirely fair to the teaching profession because it conveys the impression that nine out of ten university-level instructors are whoring. There's no reason to think that more than a minority are streetwalking after class.

To end the corruption and the use of the university for war and subjugation, Ridgeway suggests trustees be selected in a more democratic way. But his own book demonstrates the enormous fiscal dependency universities have on government. No matter how the people who run universities are selected, they must perform services for the people and institutions that pay for them.

This was the crux of the difficulty at Columbia. The University was on the Department of Defense's payroll doing things and being associated with things that made a lot of people at Columbia puke. But even with the millions coming from the government, Columbia was in the red, slipping academically, losing teachers, unable to pay a competitive salary. A dingy place, the Cox Commission quotes a member of the Administration as saying, ". . . the actual residence facilities for the men were appallingly restricted. Two men would be housed in a room barely adequate for one—consisting of a double decker bed, one desk, one chair and one bureau . . . Naked light bulbs in the corridors, scarred and battered furniture, walls and floors gave the older dormitories the general atmosphere of a rundown rooming house."

Crisis at Columbia and *Up Against the Ivy Wall* are histories of the violent struggle which may have terminated the private university in America, at least as leading institutions. The Cox book is canted slightly to the right, while the other, written by the staff of the college newspaper, is pitched leftward. The student book is better because it has the more interesting material on how people acted, on what it was like during the height of the insurrection, and because it's more complete. Both are substantially accurate, but neither succeed in depicting the courage, the idiocy, the fear, the obtuseness, the illusions and disillusions of what happened last spring on Morningside Heights. Maybe it's not possible, and the quality of the events will have to remain unarticulated in the souls of the people who shared them.

One point about the student book that needs singling out is the descriptions of the berserk police savagery. They are accurate.

Why did Columbia occur? The radical student answer is the straight-arrow propositon that people, trapped in an immoral institution over which they had no control, rose up and smote it a good one; that the confrontation was the result of unqualified moral revulsion at being part of a process that produces Vietnams, Brazils, and Greeces. The nature of the disagreement precludes compromise. The schools can't cut loose from the government and big corporations. They either use their facilities and lend their faculty to make germ warfare and antiballistic missiles or they don't. If they don't, they starve to death. So no big concessions can be offered and the fighting has to go on.

The two books contain voices who say there are actually very few students who're really radical and really opposed. But these few in combination with other impersonal forces at work in the society combine to produce an insurrection. "During the years in which the present university students were in secondary school, the gap between the generations was widened by marked changes in speech, conduct, dress and manners . . . the more exaggerated the new styles became the more they were promoted by entertainers and the influential mass media. The cycle became self-sustaining. Inflated rhetoric and violence began to spread through contemporary society . . ." says the Cox report, which goes on to explain that, ". . . the young became increasingly aware of their power . . . violent obstruction becomes a form of generational self-expression . . . At Columbia more than a few students saw the barricading of

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the buildings in April as the moment when they began meaningful lives. They lived gloriously like revolutionary citizens of Paris. They liberated buildings and flew the red flag. Men and women shared alike without restraint."

Both of these books are histories of an event that is not yet concluded, so they must suffer from incompleteness. What they narrate had hardly transpired before people at Columbia were formulating ideas that would effect student/university relations there and on other campuses. For example, we have Roger Hilsman, a former State Department man who now teaches international relations at Columbia, saying in the dying days of the revolution, "This was just about as badly managed a thing as you can imagine. None of them (the administration) knew how to behave in a crisis; none of them had any experience in a crisis. There may be 15 [students] who are Maos, who see themselves as the Ché Guevaras of today. You've got to be real careful about those 15 or 20. They've always been here but they never had an issue before. What happened here is the issue got broader within SDS and then slopped over to the outside of SDS to a group who are sympathetic to the issues."

Hilsman believes the clever crisis manager can neutralize the middle spectrum of students without a complete breakup of the university structure: "Students just are not going to take this nonsense of some old fuddy-duddy administration telling them whether they can sleep with a girl. They want to be treated like men. If you get ahead of these issues, there is enormous energy that can be channeled into exciting things."

Hilsman is a kind man who likes the students; he has a reputation on campus for being very available to them, spending a lot of time with them. Another Columbia professor and former State Department man appears to favor the firing squad. In the June 1, 1968, issue of the *New Republic* Zbigniew Brzezinski wrote an article called "Revolution and Counterrevolution (But Not Necessarily About Columbia!)." Here the American college student becomes indistinguishable from the Viet Cong:

"If the initial act of violence is suppressed quickly by established authorities the chances are that the revolutionary act itself will gain social opprobrium; society generally tends to be conservative, even in a situation of crisis of values . . . If the revolutionary act endures, then automatically it gains legitimacy with the passage of time . . . legitimist reformers and intellectual reformers in a revolutionary situation objectively become tools of revolutionary forces thus . . . contributing to . . . radicalizing the overall condition . . . If that [revolutionary] leadership cannot be physically liquidated, it can at least be expelled . . . Only after the direct revolutionary participants have been fully isolated should force be directed against their strongholds."

Such is a specimen of some of the thinking that has come out of Columbia. You might call it extremism in defense of the middle. The sad and astonishing thing is that teachers and stu-

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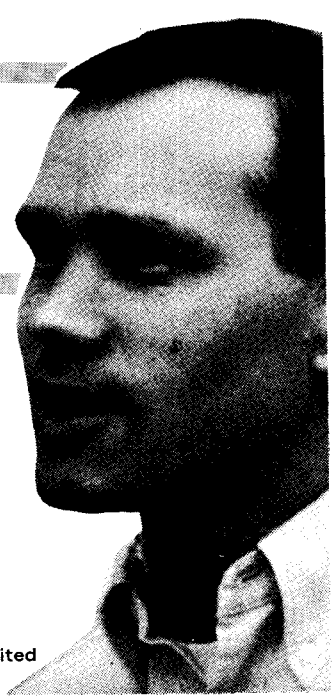

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dents have come to look at each other so. These three books help explain how it happened.

The American University: How It Runs, Where It is Going

JACQUES BARZUN

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Democracy and the Student Left

GEORGE F. KENNAN

Atlantic-Little, Brown, $5.75

ARTHUR WRIGHT

Conservatives (small "c") can prove useful in times of rapid social change. Though they will not come up with grand blueprints for the future, they do remind us of what we were—a prime determinant of where we are going and how fast—and point out what is worth saving from the old design. But when change is especially rapid, conservatives run a risk of irrelevance: At heart disinclined to expect (or want) major alterations in the social fabric, they may suddenly find themselves off in a field somewhere, tilting at abandoned if not imaginary windmills.

In these two books a pair of eminent conservatives sally forth against American higher education, a most changeable and (at the moment) changing opponent. On balance, Barzun succeeds in helping us; only a few windmills dot his landscape. Kennan, by contrast, had no business entering the particular chosen field of battle in the first place, but by the time this is recognized he is unable to retire gracefully without tilting at every windmill in sight. Burdened with such a task, it is no wonder he gives in to prevalent sarcasm and petulance.

Barzun first describes the "new university" in all its cornucopaeic grandeur, and then evaluates it as a place where education (i.e., teaching and learning) might take place. He paints a picture of a fragile but gallantly struggling organism evolving pell-mell under pressures from within and without: publish-or-perish, globetrotting, grant-grubbing professors (who consult on the side); multi-, inter-, cross-, meta-, and even trans-disciplinary institutes sprouting like toadstools on a tree trunk; "social commitment," ranging from "promoting the national defense" (developing weapons) to "erasing" poverty; and on, and on. Barzun's description of administering the unadministrable is concise, surprisingly interesting (given the subject matter), and, in the writer's experience, accurate. (He may prove to be an unwitting Ché to the student guerrillas: "Here's how it works, baby!") But he does not like the scene thus painted, in spite of having had a hand (as Dean of Faculties and Provost during the first dozen years of Columbia's "modernization," 1955-1967) in creating the very model from which he paints. Nor do the present direction and momentum of change please him: They promise more of the same, and more intensely.

Barzun's prescriptions for the ailing university are soundly conservative. "Simplify" is the recurrent slogan. Give up the "service station" or "Red Cross"

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concept of the university, dismantle much of the present superstructure, reapply the old, nearly forgotten values: teaching on an equal footing with research, itself reoriented towards the pursuit of pure knowledge, not "results" or "output." (Barzan on the university-as-factory: "The university is not a plant, beguiling as the prospect of automation may be: the student fed raw and young into the machine at one gate and emerging bearded and gray at another, machine-finished, qualified in a dozen ways, and even 'Inspected by No. 23,' just to keep the human touch.")

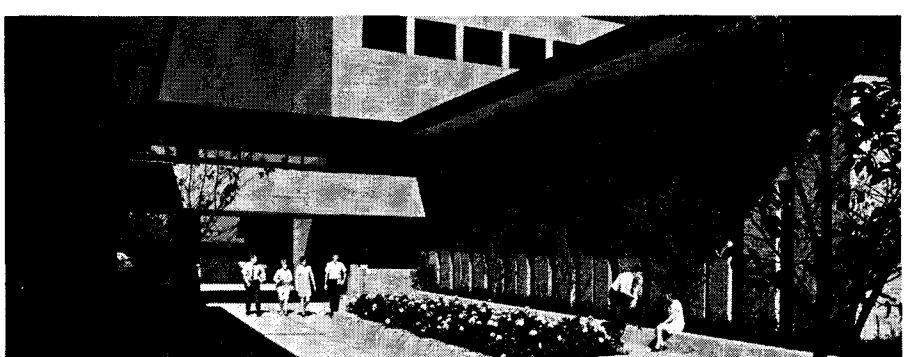
Sound advice, but in what dosages? Here we may have reached the limits of conservative analysis. Barzun underrates the possibility of viable and tolerable alternatives to the present setup other than a return to older, more familiar (and somewhat idealized) forms. His diagnosis of the "new university's" ills is just not convincing enough to warrant his strong medicine. For he seems too little aware of how radical a shock his conservative's proposals taken together would generate, with side effects that might make current excesses seem mild. One also wonders about the practical prospects, in 1968, of implementing changes designed to detach the university from the rest of American society, at least in the directions indicated.

At most, however, these reservations have to do with exaggeration and overextended conclusions, not basic errors and faults. If Barzun has not produced the last word on the subject (try and stem the tide!), his book is still well worth a careful reading.

(A note on the relation of the book to the events of April-May 1968 at Columbia: The manuscript was completed in February 1968. The decision not to amend it to incorporate those events seems a wise one. While the book would form an essential part of any thorough study of the crisis, by itself it offers no ready-made explanations.)

Kennan's book was a colossal mistake. It began life as another of his notorious musings which wind up in print (and now in re-print) without benefit of blue pencil or second thought. (See the account in his *Memoirs, 1925-1950,* of the life and times of the infamous "Mr. X" article.) Fortunately the stakes this time are not very high, although the social cost of writing and printing all the letters of protest (a selection of them comprises the book's middle 120 pages) and the lengthy rewrite of the initial article (printed in 107 pages as Kennan's "reply") is unduly high, given the results.

There isn't space to enumerate all the nits Kennan tries to pick with the Student Left-Hippies (his group demarcation), or the inaccuracies, exaggerations, distortions, illogicalities and hypocrisies of the argument which sum to virtual irrelevance. One grand hypocrisy must be cited: Students today, Kennan charges, are anti-intellectual and probably uneducable because they refuse to study the complexities of the world. Yet had a scholar of Mr. Kennan's stature done even a little real homework, the original piece, hence also the book, would not have been written. (Kennan seems unaware of the considerable body of evidence, established by the social scientists he disdains, that student activists are as a rule well-informed both in facts and analytical techniques. On his part, he claims to have sampled the S.D.S. literature, though only the founding charter is identified; one suspects that reading the (largely restrained and "responsible") letters from outraged



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REVIEWERS

NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN, *a* Washington Post *reporter, wrote* We Are the People Our Parents Warned Us Against *(Quadrangle).*

ARTHUR WRIGHT *is Visiting Research Economist at Yale University.*

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New Leftists increased five- or tenfold his exposure to their writings.)

To end on an upbeat note, dashes of redeeming (if unintended) humor are provided in both the initial attack and the reply, by incongruously abrupt transitions from flailing lash to sweet plaints of reasoning-togetherness.

IN BRIEF

The West in Asia 1850-1914. By Michael Edwardes. Capricorn, $1.65. This is an elementary comparative study of the styles of European imperialistic ventures in Asia in their heyday. The author makes and documents the unassailable point that economic domination and the ideology of western racial and cultural superiority were inseparable.

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CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 545)

as: what is the morality of our continued efforts to arm ourselves, even more totally, with nuclear weapons? What of the newest missiles now being developed, to put ten nuclear bombs into orbit at once, enough to wipe out a continent! And how about the chemical warfare research, like that nerve gas stored near Denver. Why do we have it at all? . . .

And where is Catholic teaching concerning the brutality and police-state actions in Chicago recently? Where are words of warning concerning the growing danger of a police state, under the guise of law and order (have we learned nothing from the silence of the German church under Hitler?). And what about the United Nations, which could be a really effective instrument towards world peace and justice, but yet whose authority and prestige is rapidly declining, with few words of support from the Church?

And how about foreign aid? The Pope spoke of the obligations of richer nations to help develop poor countries, and yet there is a strange silence from our hierarchy concerning this vital issue. And then there's the Vietnam war, and race . . . Their relative silence on the issues is frightening.

Is it that our spiritual leaders are so American, so tied to American policies that they cannot see (or are afraid to see and dissent) the dangers and evils in our society today? Are there no prophets left? Prophets who will speak out, even at the danger of dwindling financial support!

JOSEPH DAVIS

Correction

In "Mayor Daley's Banker" [Jan. 10] there were two typographical errors. Continental Illinois Bank extended $40 million credit to South Africa, not $140 million as printed. The Continental consortium bought $25 million in municipal bonds, not $125 million as printed in our pages.

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